

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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WHY SWITZERLAND JOINED THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

By Our Special Correspondent, HIRAM K. MODERWELL.

BERNE, AUGUST 20th.

The Swiss Socialist Party, in its conference of last Saturday at Basle, decided by a vote of 318 to 147 to become an integral part of the Third International of Moscow. The general referendum which is to follow will not change the result. The Swiss Socialists have made up their minds.

Lest anyone should think that this was a hasty, impulsive decision, it is well to describe how it was arrived at. It is the result of four years of hard thinking and six months of active discussion.

The Swiss workers suffered from the war exactly as the workers of all other neutral countries suffered. They suffered from prices that rose relentlessly, while their efforts to have their wages raised in proportion were met with increasing brutality on the part of the employers and the government. They saw, what all the other workers have seen,—the few speculators becoming inordinately rich, while the workers became steadily poorer.

But they saw something else also—the foolishness and criminality of war for imperialistic loot. Switzerland is partly French, partly German, and partly Italian. All the propagandists of the world gathered in Switzerland, where the people could check one lie by another. They could see the process by which the German papers manufactured atrocities to make their working-class hate the French, and the French papers manufactured similar atrocities to make their working-class hate the Germans. They saw what the French and German and English workers, blinded by hate and fear, could not see—that whoever may win a war, the workers lose.

For a time they looked to the Socialist parties of the Second International to issue the call for the international solidarity of the working-class, which would make future wars impossible. But no such call came. Instead, suspicion, recrimination, hatred, and feeble attempts at "parliamentary pressure" which were merely laughed at by the governments. They saw that, as a result of Socialist indecision, future wars were not only possible, but certain.

When the preparatory conference for the reconstitution of the Second International met last February in Berne, the Swiss Socialists determined to have no part in it. And immediately they began to discuss whether they should join the Third International, organized early in March at Moscow.

They discussed with workmanlike thoroughness. Each section, each local group, undertook to make up its mind, preparatory to the general party conference of August. First the group would invite two speakers to address it, one for and one against adherence to Moscow. Then would follow a general discussion. Then the question was divided into its component parts: The Soviet System; The Dictatorship of the Proletariat; The Class

Struggle; Immediate Tactics, and so on. On succeeding evenings each of these subdivisions would be discussed separately and voted on. At last, the whole subject would be re-assembled, the final vote taken, and the delegates to the Basle convention instructed accordingly.

And now that the convention has decided, by a vote of more than two to one, a referendum is to be taken, to make things doubly sure. There can be no question here of the party being "stampeded," no question of "persuasive demagogues." The Swiss Socialists decided by a democratic vote to join the Bolshevik International, because, after long deliberation, they were convinced that there was nothing else that Socialists could honorably do.

The question at the Basle conference was never "Second International OR Third International." A motion to join the Second, the International of Vandervelde and Scheide-mann, of Branting and Noske, of Ebert and Arthur Henderson, received only two votes. Indeed it was not a question of joining, or not joining the Third International; it was only a question of joining with Moscow, now, or later.

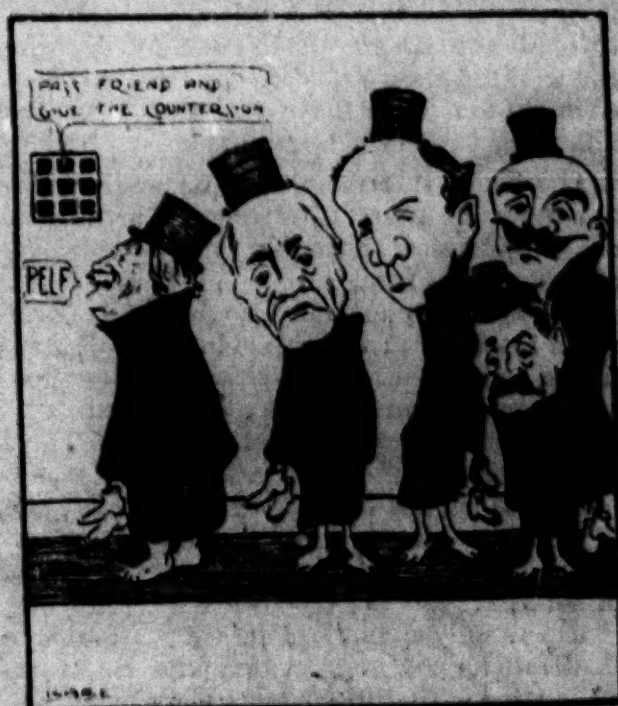
A motion to consider the question after having revised the party constitution was defeated by 267 to 204 votes. A motion to make a last attempt to unite the working-class of western Europe before joining with Moscow, was defeated by a similar vote. A motion to join, but to reserve complete liberty of tactics, was defeated by 261 to 193 votes. So the Swiss Socialist Party decided to join now.

Of all the people in the world, probably, these Swiss are the least likely to take a hasty, passionate decision. They sat at their tables in Basle like grave judges in Court. They did not, as their German comrades would have done, drink beer during their deliberations. They went at their duties as at the hardest kind of hard work. They listened to careful arguments repeated again and again. They never tired of these repetitions, so long as the speaker was in earnest about what he had to say. They scarcely showed a sign of approval or disapproval, except for a little applause at the end of a speech. They simply sat and deliberated. Yet these men and women were deciding no less serious a question than this:

REFORM OR REVOLUTION.

Only now and then was any passion displayed, as when one speaker imparted the information that the Hungarian Soviet Republic had fallen, not through outside military pressure, but through its own inner weakness. Then these studious, phlegmatic Swiss showed angry emotion. But they seemed a little ashamed of themselves when the chairman reminded them that they should listen patiently to both sides.

The arguments for and against joining



"Our" Delegates to the Peace Conference.

Moscow, were those which every Socialist group in the world will have to consider in the next few months. So it is well that they should be summarized here:

Arguments against joining the Moscow International:

To join the Third International would separate us from our French and British comrades and deprive us of their support.

Would lead us into new tactics, concerning which we are not clear, and the end of which no one can see.

Would cost us our middle class votes (sic!) and the votes of the more timid members of the working class.

Would embitter the opposition of the employers and the owning class.

Would commit us to policies which, though they may suit Russia, do not correspond to Swiss conditions.

Would be no more than a platonic expression of sympathy with the Russian Revolution.

Capitalism is not crumbling as the Moscow manifesto says; on the contrary it is stronger and more united than ever before.

The Third International does not in reality exist; it is only a paper organization.

Arguments in favour of joining the Moscow International:

The Socialists of Western Europe, especially of France, are moving in the direction of the Third International, just as we are; our action will only encourage theirs.

There is no lack of cleanness in the programme, immediate or ultimate, of the Third International: for the present, full use of parliamentarism* as a means of agitation, and at the same time the building and strengthening of workers' and soldiers' councils.

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*Is this correct? EDITOR of the "Workers Dreadnought."

WHY SWITZERLAND JOINED THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

Continued from front page.

cils in preparation for the day of the Revolution and the period of transition to a Soviet state. The character of the transitional dictatorship does not depend upon us, but upon the character and degree of the bourgeois opposition.

The Moscow programme allows us full provisional freedom to adapt our tactics to Swiss conditions.

If we adapt our policies to the gaining of middle-class votes we are not a Socialist party.

Capitalism, though by no means shattered, is so desperate that it is uniting all its forces through the League of Nations, to suppress the working-class everywhere; the only possible answer is the uniting of the proletariat under the banner of Communism.

The Third International is far more an existing reality than the Second: witness its challenge which Socialists the world over are obliged to face.

We have no choice but to decide between social reform and social revolution. Reform means the regulation of capitalist exploitation, and hence the maintenance of the capitalist system and the capitalist state. The Third International is the only international organization which has committed itself clearly and definitely to the object of Socialists—the conquest of political and economic power by the proletariat.

It was only after weighing these arguments in detail for six months that the Swiss Socialists made their decision. They have followed the majority Socialist parties of Italy, Norway and most of the Balkan States, and important minority groups in most of the other European countries. They must be followed in a few months by the Majority Socialists of France and the Independents of Germany.

ITALY'S SOLIDARITY WITH HUNGARIAN SOVIETS.

RESOLUTION OF THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

"The committee of the Italian Socialist Party expresses its deepest indignation at the strangling of the Hungarian Communist Republic by the Entente nations—Italy included—whose victory was to have given the right of free self-determination to all peoples, but which now puts a Hapsburg back on the throne of Hungary.

"The fall of the Hungarian Communist Government is due, not only to their accomplices, the Rumanian armies, but to the inhuman blockade carried on by the Entente nations, who condemn to the pangs of hunger every nation which strives to free itself from capitalist exploitation. The Entente nations did not scruple to make use of the most brutal and repulsive methods of carrying on the struggles, as for example when they refused to send medicines to the civil population of Hungary. The fall of the Hungarian Soviet was also rendered possible by lack of effective action on the part of the international proletariat, which, in certain countries, owing to the lukewarm policy and lack of faith of the leaders, could not and would not make its voice heard, so as to force the bourgeois government to respect the first actual realisations of Socialism.

"The committee greets with intense affection the Communist comrades of the fallen Government of Buda Pest. It is certain that the struggles and sacrifices of the advanced guard of the proletariat will not fail to bear fruit, even if, for the time being, they are unsuccessful. It is convinced that each battle fought, each victory gained, each defeat suffered by the proletariat of a single country is simply a detail, a phase, a single aspect of the immense struggle which the world proletariat is waging against capitalist exploitation."—*Avanti!* August 23rd.

Will the Trade Union Congress pass a similar resolution? Will British Labour, which failed to respond to the appeal of our Italian comrades to join in the general strike of July 21st, now take the initiative in action against the Russian intervention?

KOLTCHAK SHOT ONE IN EVERY TEN PRISONERS.

Joseph Eisenberger, a German Social Democrat living in Russia, was arrested by counter-revolutionaries and imprisoned at Omsk, was released through the intervention of American and Swedish Consular officers. He made the following statement to a representative of the *New York Call*:

"On the night of September 30th—October 1st, 1918, a party of 150 Bolsheviks, imprisoned in Koltchak's prison camp near Omsk, tried to escape. They were captured. The next morning I saw Koltchak's officers select without any kind of discrimination, every tenth man, force the men to dig their own graves, throw them down into the gaping earth and shoot them. The firing squad, which consisted of 100 men, was in command of Lieutenant Kretsche."

Eisenberger is a native of Bavaria and was a member of the Social Democratic Party there. At the opening of war he was in Moscow, where he was arrested as an enemy alien and sent to the Government of Wiatka, 3,900 miles away. In 1916 he was set free to work in Siberia. He was employed as a clerk by the Siberian Co-operative Society. In 1918, when the second Soviet Government was proclaimed in that region, he started for Germany, but remained in Moscow, helping the German prisoners who were being repatriated. In the course of this work for the Soviet Government he returned to Tobolsk in Siberia, which was evacuated by the Soviet forces on June 11th, 1918. He might have left with them, but remained to assist in caring for the 5,000 sick people who were left behind; spotted typhus was rampant at the time.

When the Czecho-Slovak forces arrived on June 18th, the soldiers searched his house; they did not arrest him as he was a member of the Red Cross, but insisted that he should not leave Tobolsk without their permission.

SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT THE SERVANT OF ALLIES.

Eisenberger then entered into communication with the counter-revolutionary Siberian Government, which had been established by force. He asked them to examine and acknowledge his papers, but they refused to do even that without permission from the Allied representatives at Vladivostok. Thus it was obvious that the new government was the mere servant of the Allies and dared not act upon its own initiative.

As a result of further parleys, however, Lieutenant Plachinsky, the military representative of the Allied Government, asked him to proceed to Omsk to be interviewed by the Government's foreign department there. Arriving on July 18th, he found the officials evasive, and was told that they must consult the Allied representatives.

ARRESTED BY CZECHO-SLOVAKS.

Eisenberger was then arrested by Czecho-Slovaks. He says:—

"While waiting, I was suddenly arrested by a Czecho-Slovak espionage detachment. I pointed out that I was waiting for a final decision from the Siberian Government, that I had been authorised to come to Omsk and granted safe conduct from Tobolsk to Omsk and back again. But they told me they did not care anything about instructions issued by the Siberian Government, since they were the masters of the country.

"They told me I should be sentenced to death. They found my membership card of the Social Democratic Party and believed me to be in touch with the Bolsheviks.

"I was taken to the office of the Cndet Corps at Omsk, where I remained a week. I appealed to the Siberian authorities to interfere. I was told that they could do nothing and that it was the province of the military authorities to make the final decision in my case."

ARRESTED SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT PRESIDENT SHOT FROM BEHIND.

For two months Eisenberger was imprisoned under special guard in the concentration camp. Then for a further seven months he was kept prisoner but allowed to go about the town under special guard and to read the newspapers.

From the newspapers he learnt that after the Siberian Soviet had been overthrown it was replaced by the Duma which appointed five social revolutionaries, the chief of whom was Novosioff to assume control. They were arrested and Novosioff was shot by order of an anti-democratic counter-revolutionary government which started up under Vologodsky. Afterwards Koltchak came into power, also by force. From the first day that

Koltchak assumed control there was constant suppression and bloodshed.

"All Democratic institutions came under the suspicious eye of the Government and were suppressed. Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and professional unions were no exceptions.

"The Trade Unions, which had played an important part in abolishing the control of the Bolsheviks in Siberia, were also persecuted. Leaders of Radical parties were taken from their workshops and shot without even the formality of a trial."

Eisenberger was finally released and transported to the United States on condition that he would leave for Germany immediately. He goes gladly in order to help in the establishment of Communism there.

HOW LUDENDORFF FEARED THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

"At the time of the Brest Litovsk peace hardly anyone was found to raise a hand in defence of the Russian working classes, and to condemn the treason of the Allied capitalist Governments.

"In spite of the Soviets' proposals for a general peace, in spite of the invitation to the Stockholm Congress, the man in the street asserted that it was Russia who had betrayed the Allies, and that it was the Russian Revolution which had placed the Allies in peril. This was the very reverse of the truth, for it was revolutionary Russia which was abandoned and betrayed by the Allies.

"No one seemed to recognise how mortal a blow the Russian Revolution had dealt the Central Empires. There were even many Socialists who howled that the Bolsheviks were nothing but German agents.

"To-day Ludendorff himself recognises that the German failure really began at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. It gave the German authorities great cause for anxiety. The Chancellor and Count Czernin, he says in his memoirs, were obsessed by fear of revolution and could only think of peace as the means of raising the national moral by a constructive policy."

"Those who are still in doubt ought to read the lines in which Ludendorff regrets that it was not possible to arm all the anti-Bolshevik parties for the regeneration of the country.

"I did not do so," writes Ludendorff, "that the disintegration of the Russian army and nation meant a very grave risk for Germany and Austria-Hungary."

"Bolshevism, which threatened Germany with the revolutionary contagion, was and still remains German capitalism's most redoubtable foe. In the East the Bolsheviks remained our enemies—with these words Ludendorff ends his account of the political situation in 1918."

—From an article by M. Krasnine in *La Vie Ouvrière*, August 27th.

VENEZELOS, THE DEMOCRAT.

The *Avanti!*, August 25th, reports:—

"For more than a month a strike of bank employees had been going on for increases in salary. The injustice and greed of the big potentates of the banks was only too evident, but the Government did not intervene, even to try and bring about a temporary reconciliation by means of a compromise between the two parties.

"At the beginning of the week before last the strikers decided to form themselves into a trade union and to join the Greek General Confederation of Labour, which then took over the negotiations.

"After several conversations with the employers and Government representatives the workers became convinced of the ill-will of the masters, and especially of the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers. On the following day the Confederation sent an ultimatum to the Government, which replied by arresting the members of the Confederation and comrade Petsopoulos, editor of the Socialist daily, *Rizopastis*.

"The workers elected a new Executive, and that very evening the general strike was proclaimed at Athens and at the Piræus. The Vice-President and his associates called in the military authorities to suppress the workers. A hundred militant Socialists and Syndicalists were arrested, as well as the members of the new Executive, who had to hand over their functions to others.

"The regular soldiers, at the instance of their officers, compelled the workers to resume work at the point of the bayonet.

"Every possible department is being militarised: post office, telegraph office, railways, tramway service, etc.

"Tino must be very pleased at the home policy of his adversary. Venizelos is following well in his footsteps!"

A NEGRO POET.

We take from the *New York Liberator* these poems by Claude McKay, a negro of Jamaica, who, when he wrote them, was a waiter in an American dining car:—

THE BARRIER.

I must not gaze at them although
Your eyes are dawning day;
I must not watch you as you go
Your sun-illuminated way;

I hear but I must never heed
The fascinating note,
Which, fluting like a river-reed,
Comes from your trembling throat;

I must not see upon your face
Love's softly glowing spark;
For there's the barrier of race,
You're fair and I am dark.

AFTER THE WINTERS.

Some day, when trees have shed their leaves,
And against the morning's white
The shivering birds beneath the eaves
Have sheltered for the night,
We'll turn our faces southward, love,
Toward the summer isle
Where bamboos spire the shafted grove
And wide-mouthed orchids smile.

And we will seek the quiet hill
Where towers the cotton tree,
And leaps the laughing crystal rill,
And works the droning bee.
And we will build a lonely nest
Beside an open glade,
And there forever will we rest.
O love—O nut-brown maid!

THE LITTLE PEOPLES.

The little peoples of the troubled earth,
The little nations that are weak and white:—
For them the glory of another birth,
For them the lifting of the veil of night.
The big men of the world in concert met,
Have sent forth in their power a new decree:
Upon the old harsh wrongs the sun must set,
Henceforth the little people must be free!

But we, the blacks, less than the trampled dust
Who walk the new ways with the old dim
eyes,—

We to the ancient gods of greed and lust
Must still be offered up as sacrifice:
Oh, we who deign to live but will not dare,
The white world's burden must forever bear!

A ROMAN HOLIDAY.

'Tis but a modern Roman holiday;
Each state invokes its soul of basest passion,
Each vies with each to find the ugliest way
To torture Negroes in the fiercest fashion.
Black Southern men, like hogs await your doom!
White wretches hunt and haul you from your
huts,
They squeeze the babies out your women's
womb,
They cut your members off, rip out your guts!
It is a Roman holiday, and worse;
It is the mad beast risen from his lair,
The dead accusing years' eternal curse,
Reeking of vengeance, in fulfilment here.
Bravo, Democracy! Hail greatest Power
That saved sick Europe in her darkest hour!

IF WE MUST DIE.

If we must die—let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die—oh, let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honour us though dead!

Oh, kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one
death-blow!

What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly
pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but—fighting back!

DUBB DIALOGUES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Part IV.

Scene: A workshop.

Characters: Henry Dubb and the Author's Ghost

Henry Dubb—I have heard many a chap
spouting about Socialism, but I have never heard
'em explain properly just how they mean to get
it. What do you say to that?

Author's Ghost—Your question shows you
take a wrong view of the case.

Henry—How do you mean by that?

Ghost—Well, you are asking how they mean
to get Socialism. It isn't a question of the
Socialists getting Socialism.

Henry—But it ought to be. If there's any-
one more interested in it than these here
Socialists, I don't see who is.

Ghost—You are, for instance. Supposing a
man fell in the water, you would not just stand
on the bank and ask how he means to get out.
It is the same with Socialism. It concerns you
as much as the Socialist. Socialism is a theory
of society where the people will be better off
than they are now. It is therefore plain that
it is to the interest of the workers to get
Socialism.

Henry—Perhaps so. But as you Socialists
want us to have Socialism, we naturally ask
you how it will come about.

Ghost—The question is better put this time.
In order to get Socialism, we have to know
exactly what we want. I said last week that
what we want is good jobs, good houses, good
clothes, good food and the rest for the people of
these islands. At present the workers do not
get these because most of the things which make
money are in the hands of a few. These things
are called the means of production. If, for
instance, you have a bit of land, you have the
means of producing vegetables, fruit, grain, and
other foods.

Henry—But clothes don't grow on trees, nor
houses neither.

Ghost—I appreciate your sarcasm. I was
merely instancing one point of my argument.
The fact remains, however, that most things
come from the land. Iron and other metals, for
machinery. Wood and clay for houses. And
coal. Likewise animals live on the land, and
from these we get wool, leather, and meat.
Consequently the first and foremost thing the
people should do would be to take over the land.

Henry—What about the rights of private
property?

Ghost—The land was there before you were
born, before the owners were born. Even
scientists, who are not Socialists, say that the
land existed thousands of years before man
began. The land therefore could not belong to
anyone, since no one made it.

Henry—Perhaps that's true. But you can't
take over workshops and the machinery on the
same principles.

Ghost—The present owners have no more
right to them than have the owners of the land,
as they call themselves. The houses, workshops,
palaces, docks, ships, machinery were all made
by the workers. It is true that the workers
were paid for doing it, but nobody is mad enough
to suppose that they got the value of it all.

Henry—But the capitalist invested his money—
in them.

Ghost—Yes, but how did he come by his
money? By making profit out of labour on the
land. We see, then, that we always go back
to the land.

Henry—But making a profit isn't agen the
law.

Ghost—No. Especially as the profiteers made
the laws themselves. When the land was split
up among the present "owners," laws had to be
passed to legalise the ownership, as it is called.
Or the King gave what are known as charters.
The people don't come in anywhere. And as

to profits not being against the law—they are
against commonsense to begin with. There is
a story of a man who saw some fine logs drifting
down stream. Some other men were looking on,
so he says: "Get those logs on the bank for me
and I'll pay you sixpence a log." Then he sold
the logs at ten bob each. That's some profit.

Henry—But all that doesn't explain how we
are to get Socialism.

Ghost—Most people imagine that we are going
to get it by a revolution. That is true. But it
depends on what kind of a revolution they mean.
The common idea is that it will be done by shoot-
ing all the capitalists and hanging all the po-
liticians.

Henry—Well, you don't deny that, do you?

Ghost—I do. After all, what do we have?
simply dead capitalists and defunct politicians.
We are where we were. We want to take over
the land and all industry and run it for the good
of the people.

Henry—You can get all that more easy by
Parliament than what you can by revolution.

Ghost—That is not so. Most of the men in
Parliament are owners of some form of property,
even if it is only shares in a business. Of
course, if industry stops, no profits are made
and the shareholders get no dividends, so share-
holders are as one with the capitalists and the
landlords.

Henry—You have forgotten the Labour Party.

Ghost—What have they done? Practically
nothing, and what they have got has merely
been because the workers outside went on strike.
That was how the miners got the Eight Hours'
Day.

Henry—But there ain't enough of the Labour
Party in now. All the workers have to do is
to vote more of them in, and we shall see things
move a bit.

Ghost—If things do move a bit then, they'll
move backwards. Even if a proper Socialist
Government gets in, they will soon be shut
down by those who have the army and navy
behind them. They will then find that they
have to fight just the same.

Henry—It seems to be bloodshed anyway.

Ghost—Yes. And the joke is that the army
and navy are drawn principally from the working
classes. When they all set about cutting each
others' throats, it will amuse the capitalists.

THE CARNEGIE LEGACIES.

Mr. Burt has explained to the *Times* that
Carnegie first went to see him because he had spoken
in his defence. This is how Burt tells the story:—

At one of our Northumberland miners' picnics
Mr. Keir Hardie had made a strong speech against
capitalists and mentioned Mr. Carnegie as an
example of one who had made millions out of the
workers. I followed Mr. Keir Hardie on that
occasion, and I said that while I did not desire to
enter into any controversial discussion at a picnic
gathering, I would just like to mention that I had
been to Pittsburgh and had met the leading trade
unionists there, and that they and the workmen
said Mr. Carnegie was a good employer, and that
his works always paid the best wages. The only
regret the workmen had, they told me, was that
they could not get access to Mr. Carnegie as often
as they would like.

This is the typical attitude of the old-fashioned
trade union leader, who has no thought of abolishing
the system under which some work hard all their
lives, and yet remain poor, whilst others are grow-
ing rich out of poor people's labour. It is notice-
able that to various politicians, already amply pro-
vided for, Carnegie gave annuities of £1,000 to
£2,000 a year. To three old servants, one of whom
had served him for 27 years, and of whom he says,
"These are as members of the family!" he gives
pensions amounting to half their wages. In the
average case the servant gets no pension at all, even
if the employer happens to be a millionaire, but
even in this case, note the different treatment
meted out to the political associate and to the old
servant. Carnegie, though risen from the working
class, shared, whatever he may have said, the con-
tempt for the manual workers which is created by
capitalist society.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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TO THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Whilst some of our comrades are discussing whether they are "democrats," "ergocrats," or "ergatocrats," we ask them to turn their attention rather to the meeting of the Trade Union Congress which, though its 5,000,000 members may be largely inactive, is nevertheless a great organisation of the working class.

Is that great organisation destined to wear out its existence in the slough of inactivity into which its officials have betrayed it, so that it has become a mere annual talking shop and jumping-off place for ambitious men who wish to climb the political ladder out of the working class to be Members of Parliament, Government officials, Privy Councillors, Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, and what not? Or will a new spirit animate the old machine; will the old leaders and the old policies be swept away by a new race of labour agitators fired with the new spirit that comes sweeping across Europe from Russia and ready to lead the workers to revolution?

The revolution is coming, of that there is no doubt; the only question is whether the Trade Union Congress will be one of its instruments. The precedent of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, would lead us to answer "no," for in none of those countries did the official trade union movement organise the revolution.

Yet whether the Trade Union Congress and the official trade union movement itself will be an instrument of the coming revolution, or will be left like the old nut shell after the kernel has been removed, the official trade union movement has been the shell within which the kernel of the workers' revolutionary movement has been growing, and even to-day great questions come before it for decision.

Revolutionary communists must either strive to influence those decisions or must set out with tremendous vigour to smash up the old machine at once and build another. They cannot ignore the old machine; at present the only national machine for focussing the industrial power of all workers, until they have put something vital in its place.

The workers' committees are growing; they could do the work more effectively than the old machine, but a vigorous propaganda to bring before the workers the superior mechanism of the workers' committees is necessary, and in order to be successful that propaganda cannot afford to ignore the old machine.

At the Trade Union Congress in Glasgow questions of tremendous importance should be raised and the issues keenly fought, not carelessly left to go by default however the old fashioned politicians may desire.

THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION AND THE SOUTHPORT DECISION.

The Southport Labour Party Conference decided by a two-thirds majority that direct action should be taken for political purposes, and that it should be taken to stop the intervention against the Soviet Republics. The Executive of the Labour Party was instructed to arrange for this direct action with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Con-

gress. No action has followed, and meanwhile the Hungarian Soviet has been brutally overthrown, and the Allies now prepare to bombard Petrograd. The Labour Party Executive will doubtless shield itself behind the excuse that the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee would not act. The Trade Union Congress should now instruct its Executive to take immediate and decisive action and fix definitely the time and method of such action. If the Congress is wise it will elect another Executive, for the present Executive, as it is opposed both to direct action and to the Communists, cannot be trusted to carry out effectively a strong mandate on this question.

THE COAL QUESTION.

The Government has definitely announced its intention not to nationalise coal mines; the miners have again and again declared that if necessary they will strike to obtain their charter, the most important point in which is the nationalisation of the mines. It is clear that only direct action can secure nationalisation, and certainly the labour movement should take direct action. But there is a tendency to hang back, even amongst those who have hitherto voiced very revolutionary sentiments and have proclaimed their utter disbelief in the efficacy of the Parliamentary machine for improving the lot of the workers. There is a tendency to say that the general strike, when once it is started, will mean the revolution, and that the workers are not yet ready for the revolution.

But the revolution will not come as easily as that. Is it possible that in a country where there has never been a general strike Capitalism will be overthrown at the first attempt to organise one? Jaurès, writing in *L'Humanité* some years ago, said:—

"It is childish to imagine that the general strike, by its own mechanism alone and the arrest of social work to revolutionise minds and material objects, methods of production and property. . . . The workers do not wait to be in a position to force bourgeois society to capitulate in its whole principles in order to try a general strike or propagate such an idea."

"When it shall have pushed so far, by gain after gain, by combat after combat, by conquest after conquest, by achievement after achievement, its force and its hope that it shall be able at last to set itself up definitely against what will remain of the power of the bourgeoisie then the supreme general strike."

"The general strike will be so much less necessary in reality as the working class becomes more resolute in declaring it, and more capable of sustaining it. The more you believe in the necessity of the general strike, the more you must work to make it effective."

Jaurès had not had the advantage of witnessing the Russian Revolution and the other great upheavals which had taken place in Europe; but the Russian Revolution itself was not achieved without a number of preliminary outbreaks.

THE POLICE STRIKE.

Then there is the question of the strike of the police in defence of their right to organise themselves into a trade union. The Trade Union Congress is deeply involved in this; the Police and Prison Officers' Union is affiliated to the Trade Union Congress, and now the Government has declared the union illegal. The policemen struck; they had received large promises of support from the Labour movement, but the support was not forthcoming in the hour of crisis. The police were betrayed by official labour. What has the Trade Union Congress to say about it?

A study of the Winnipeg strike should teach the labour movement that it cannot afford to ignore the police question, for when the Winnipeg police were dismissed by the City Council because they refused to renounce their union, hired ruffians who had been drilled in readiness by the capitalists, were put onto the street and unprovoked attacks on the people at once occurred. In Hungary, when the revolution came, the police were the first to throw in their lot with the people.

OUTPUT, HOURS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. Herbert Stead, Warden of Browning Settlement, said the other day that "old Labour leaders who had borne the heat and burden of the day had told him in deep sorrow that they found in many of the younger workers a greed of gain utterly irrespective of the welfare of their own class, and still less of the community, and that there was a profiteering spirit abroad never known in earlier times."

We are almost inclined to echo the words of those "old labour leaders," with one important difference; we should apply the strictures to themselves, to the men who have climbed out of the workshop not to those who remain there and on whose shoulders they have climbed. The employing classes have started the cry, "increase output," pretending, in the words of the old saw, that for the workers to keep their noses closely fixed to the grindstone is the only way for the country to be "healthy, wealthy and wise." Of course the "stunt," if it succeeds, will prove an excellent one from the employers' standpoint; it will add to his profits and rid him of labour troubles. But what of the workers? When the war stopped, and unemployment, as a natural consequence of demobilisation, and the stoppage of war work began to show itself, the workers in all industries began demanding shorter hours without reduction of pay in order not only to lighten the individual worker's burden of toil, to give him some recompense for his war exertions, but also to absorb the unemployed into industry. With this object arose the general strikes in Glasgow and Belfast and the sectional strikes elsewhere, and as a result of the sacrifice and determinations of the workers, a general movement towards shorter hours set in, and many reductions were actually secured. Also, even before the war stopped, in anticipation of its end, there arose a demand for the raising of the school age and the abolition of half-time, and the demand was strong enough to be partially met by the Education Act.

But now the employers of labour have raised the cry of increased production, and under its cover the Education Authorities have postponed the regulation that abolishes exemptions from school under 14 years. The Board of Education has issued a circular stating that the regulation will not become operative before January 1st, 1920, and not even giving a pledge that they will become operative then.

Meanwhile the labour leaders are responding to the beating of the capitalist drum just as they did in war time; "increased production" they have adopted as their own battle cry. Brownlie, of the engineers, one of those who helped to crush the 40 hours, has written to Bowerman, the Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, to call the attention of the Parliamentary Committee to the output question. Recently sent for by the King, Brownlie has friends now amongst the great ones, and in his letter to Bowerman he quotes, not Mrs. Tommy Atkins, who cannot buy milk, not Tommy Atkins, who cannot get work, not Bill, the munition maker, but Mr. Hoover, an Allied Capitalist food controller. Brownlie calls on the organised workers of Britain to produce more and urges their Parliamentary Committee "to take immediate action" to induce them to do it. Bowerman has told the Press that "whether we like it or not—this question must be faced."

And the labour leaders are "facing it"; they are bowing down to the demands of the employers. The joint committee of employers and representatives of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades and the A.S.E. has adjourned discussion on the workers' demand for a reduction in the working week from 47 to 44 hours. The workers had balloted on the hours question and had decided by a big majority for the 44 hours demand, but the employers said the results would be "disastrous," and the labour leaders were so much "impressed" by the employers' arguments, that they agreed to suspend the demand altogether, till a joint committee, consisting of six labour leaders and six employers,

has considered the economic effect of a 44-hour week with regard to "methods of production and foreign competition."

The Trade Union Congress gives the rank and file an opportunity to discuss such methods of negotiation and to express its candid opinion of the increased output "stunts" for curing Bolshevik tendencies.

DISCHARGED SOLDIERS.

On no subject has the official Labour movement expressed itself so emphatically as on that of proper treatment for the demobilised soldiers. The soldiers' case cannot be properly dealt with under Capitalism! No rich man's Government will ever bring itself to place the worker, whose health is broken, in a position of complete comfort and security. No Capitalist Government will ever solve the unemployment evil to which the numbers of demobilised soldiers inevitably fall victims. Therefore tragedy is playing more and more frequent part in the history of the demobilised men.

John Blake, a Lambeth soldier, who could not get his pension, drowned himself in the Thames through "worry." His widow said £5 of the pension was received the day before the inquest, but the widow and children could not have it.

Arthur Nedham, a Leicester soldier, cut his throat and that of his wife. He was suffering from neurasthenia and shell shock.

Walter Walker, a Nottingham soldier, took rat poison and appealed to be allowed to die.

Does anyone wonder? Will the Trade Union Congress have anything to say, or will it consider increased production more important?

PRESIDENT WILSON AT GRIPS WITH LABOUR.

President Wilson, lately applauded over here as the friend of Labour and saviour of humanity, is taking his stand on the side of the employers in the fiercely-waged struggle between Capital and Labour in his own country. The railwaymen of the United States are demanding increased wages to meet the increased cost of living. The railway shopmen had declared for a strike to take place on September 2nd. Then they were persuaded to negotiate: President Wilson, taking a leaf out of the book of his friend Lloyd George, was going to settle the strike. President Wilson has now refused any increase, telling the workers to wait till the cost of living goes down. A brutal verdict, for, as everyone knows, the cost of living is rising fast.

The *New Majority*, the official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labour and the Labour Parties of Illinois and Cook County, reports that Governor Lowden, of Illinois, in view of the strikes pending there, requested President Wilson "to send with all speed tanks and bombing planes to Illinois, for the use of the Militia." And "President Wilson cut red tape so as to get them there at once."

There is an International movement to make striking illegal and to crush the rise of the workers' movement. The League of Nations will be the International Executive of the Capitalist Class in this matter. What has the Trade Union Conference got to say of it?

PETROGRAD IN DANGER.

It is reported from Berlin that an Allied attack is now to be made on Petrograd, and that the British General, Gough, has warned the inhabitants of Petrograd that the British Navy, having successfully attacked Kronstadt, will now bombard Petrograd. The Germans are joining with the British. The menace is great: What will Labour do to save Petrograd?

But for the menace to Petrograd, we should whole-heartedly rejoice at the great successes achieved by our Russian comrades during the last few days. Denikin, whose progress was so disquieting, is now retiring steadily. The Red Army has taken Kamyshin, an important town on the Volga and Borisoglebsk, on the north of Denikin's central front; they are threatening Karkoff, a very important corn centre, and Denikin is preparing to evacuate it—in short, they are driving him westward and southward, and his advance is stopped. Nevertheless, after a British bombardment by 30 ships for two days, the Communists were obliged to evacuate Odessa.

The Reds are still driving Koltchak before them, and he has evacuated Omsk and retired eastward.

General Yudenitch, who was to have taken Petrograd, is also doing badly. There are quarrels amongst the troops under his command, and the Reds have taken Pskoff.

Even should Petrograd fall the Communists will still hold out. Petrograd, but for its sentimental associations, is unimportant.

General Maurice, in the *Daily News*, August 27th, wrote:—

The only chance of reaching such a solution this year was that Denikin's offensive from the South should make sufficient progress to threaten the communication of the Bolsheviks' army advancing eastwards against Koltchak. This Denikin has failed to do.

There now does not seem to be any prospect of Denikin and Koltchak being able to combine before the beginning of next summer. In a few weeks from now the first frosts of winter will have set in on the northern and eastern fronts, and much will depend upon the power of the opposing authorities to keep their forces together during the long winter.

As to the situation in the North, I am frankly sceptical of the much-advertised offensive against Petrograd. General Yudenitch has not yet managed to obtain that measure of agreement amongst the various elements on the Estonian front which is the essential preliminary to any effective military action, and the task of doing this speedily demands greater qualities of statesmanship and greater powers of organisation than any of the Russian generals in command of the Anti-Bolshevik forces have yet shown.

The only hope that I see of overcoming Bolshevism by force of arms is through the long, slow process of exhaustion. That process is at work, and it will continue to work as long as we continue to cut off supplies of food and munitions from the Bolsheviks and furnish their opponents with both, but it will not be rapid, and it will be costly.

Is the Trade Union Congress prepared to countenance a long and costly war of exhaustion or will it take direct action to stop it?

HUNGARY.

The hideous, sordid process of exterminating the Communists and annexing the spoils of conquest continues in Hungary. The Allies have accused the Roumanian Government of a lack of "solidarity" in seizing as much pelf as it could for itself, instead of waiting to see what the Allied Council would give it. Mr. Friedrich seems to have retired, and the Allies have permitted another Government much like his to be formed in Hungary. If it is disobedient to the Allies, it will not last long.

Late on Tuesday night, with mind oppressed by anxiety for the danger menacing Soviet Russia, we journey home in the bus to the East End. Suddenly a man beside us said loudly: "What are they all reading? What are they all reading the papers for?" Under each lamp-post was a group of people eagerly clustering about one who held a newspaper. Foreboding brought before our eyes the words: "Petrograd has fallen."

The bus went on and we with it, but reaching the house, our anxious spirit drove us to walk back to the place where we had seen the people reading. They were gone, the street was deserted, but on the wet pavement we found an evening paper, a single page, the late night edition. Our eyes rushed to the "Stop Press," and there, in faint blue letters, we found "Becket beat McGoorty."

So we went back relieved momentarily, but heavy hearted. The war of Labour and Capital wages fiercely. The citadel of the Workers' Cause is endangered, yet in the dark East End the victims of oppression only know that there has been a prize fight. In the *Daily Herald* next morning we found on the front page: "Becket Beats McGoorty." General Gough's proclamation we could not find.

KOLTCHAK OUTLAWED BY SOVIETS.

Le. *Populaire*, 26/8/19, publishes a report from Helingfors, August 23rd:—

The Council of People's Commissaries has published the following decisions to be applied in the districts abandoned by Koltchak:—

1. Koltchak, the ex-Admiral of the Imperial Government, who proclaims himself "Supreme Ruler," and has under him a "council of ministers,"

is proclaimed an enemy of the people and is hereby outlawed.

2. All proclamations or laws, all decrees or "prikazes" (orders) emanating from Koltchak or from his delegated officials are annulled.

3. All deeds of sale or purchase, contracts, treaties or concessions granted by Koltchak, his ministers, or his delegated officials, are annulled.

4. Similarly are declared null and void all treaties, agreements, concessions or contracts concluded between Koltchak and the Governments of foreign Powers, desirous of enriching themselves at the expense of the Russian people.

5. The rights of the various peoples are unaffected; land and property pass into the hands of the community.

6. Notes issued by the Soviet Government resume their currency at the same rate as prevails in European Russia.

7. The various peoples of Siberia may exercise the same right of self-determination and may conduct their internal and external affairs as freely as the Ukrainians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the inhabitants of White Russia, the Tartars, the Bashkiss, the Kalmucks, and other peoples of Russia have done.

KALININ (Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee).

ULIANOV-LENIN (President of the Council of People's Commissaries).

THE TRIUMPH OF THE RICH.

The *Paris Temps* (August 20th) reports the following statement made by Count John Andrássy, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hungary. Count Andrássy has just left Switzerland to return to his native country:—

"I am returning to Buda Pest at the unanimous request of the leaders of all parties, to endeavour to bring about some sort of agreement amongst them. They tell me that they need my moral authority to conciliate differences of opinion and to bring about an armistice between opposing political groups. I shall certainly do my utmost to this end, but my political career is finished. To younger men than I must fall the task of forming a Coalition Cabinet in which all classes will be represented, bourgeois as well as workers, Conservatives as well as Social Democrats. The Social Democrats are a party of order, opposed to Bolshevism, and that is my reason for saying that they must enter the Ministry.

"The past is dead; a new era is beginning. In my opinion, our foreign policy ought to consist in not having one at all; in this way we shall be able to avoid becoming involved, without any advantage accruing to us, in the complications of ententes and alliances. We have no right to bind the coming generation to a policy of intrigue and adventure. We must live in complete isolation. Alas! if only we were living on an island. The question as to whether we shall have a monarchy or a republic is, after all, of little importance. We are broken and starving. In face of that, what do constitutional subtleties matter? Does a man who is dying of thirst look at the shape of the glass out of which he is drinking? After this violent attack of Bolshevism we have been reduced to the state of a man sick unto death. Are we going to worry about the kind of bed we must rest on if we want to recover health? King or President, what does it matter? Peace, restoration of order, and work—these are the things we need. I warmly desire that our national conscience may become alive to the necessity of this truth, that it is only work which is important, only work which counts."

Just so! "Work, work, we must produce more!" cries he who produces nothing and eats—the product! For it is not men like this Magyar noble who will starve next winter in Buda Pest, even though with lordly magnanimity he says that "we are broken and starving"; neither need he even worry very much about the kind of bed he will have to lie on. Only the Buda Pest proletariat need worry about such things, now that, with the fall of the Soviet, they have been once more herded back into the slums. The following figures given by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (August 26th) enables us to form some idea of the kind of beds which vast numbers in Buda Pest must now lie on. Even before the war out of a total population of 900,000 there were

"15,000 persons inhabiting the same room with at least 10 others,

"80,000 persons inhabiting the same room with at least 7 others,

"200,000 persons inhabiting the same room with at least 5 others.

"In addition there was a floating homeless population, i.e., sleeping where it could—of 125,000."

"This," says the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, "was in peace time. The situation in March, 1918, with the huge additional population (amounting to 500,000) of munition workers, and particularly after the demobilisation of the army, is beyond description."

But "work" is the remedy, work which some speak of as the "dignity of labour" but others as the "drudgery of toil." When will the workers finally demand the right not to work, but, as Kropotkin says in his *Conquest of Bread*, to well-being, to leisure, fresh air, books, culture, nature? Not the right to work, said Paul Lafargue in his satirical pamphlet, but "the right to be lazy!"

A LETTER FROM PETROGRAD.

The following letter to French comrades was written in Petrograd on May 29th, 1919.

COMRADES,—

Whilst joining in the first of May celebrations here I remembered the old first of May in Paris, the inept violence of the police, our powerless protests—it was a picture, at once sad and impassioned, of the path where perhaps the revolt is born.

Petrograd, at once half starved, threatened on all sides, was yet marvellously sunny that day and rich in enthusiasm and hope. You cannot even imagine what it is to see at last the masses who have freed themselves, who feel themselves at last victorious. For them the first of May was rather a fête-day than a fighting demonstration. The town was decorated in red, the red flag flew on the Fortress of Peter and Paul, where so many of our comrades had been imprisoned; and no army or police in the old sense of the word, but simply arms in the hands of the people themselves.

Can there be any question at this time of differences of ideas or formulae, which used to divide us into syndicalists, individualists, communists, and others? Life has gone its way, carrying away the words and theories without force, raising up in return realities which to-day surpass our most daring hopes. Nevertheless, all the individual interpretations of revolutionary thought possess their value and their power, surely we should all of us remain between ourselves fraternally independent—and thus, even by our differences, our varied, living movement, will know how to develop in every direction. But a truth is forced upon you to-day, which takes precedence of all the secondary differences: it is that two conceptions of life irreconcilably opposed are confronting each other, and between them the choice must be made.

The choice henceforth must be made in actions, not words. It lies between remaining with the old world, founded upon private property, the principle of authority and conquest, or with the new world, founded from henceforth on Communal Property, the Federalist Principle, Internationalism.

The Communist programme is summed up in these three words. It is not a mere printed programme. It is a programme which is realised, or in process of being realised, in a country of 100 million people by revolutionaries who are outlawed, besieged, blockaded, starved, but who know that no power can henceforth remake what they have destroyed, nor destroy what they have made. The immensity of these realities and of the ideas on which they live is such that there is room, plenty of it, in this "communism," for all consciences and for all the most independent of revolutionary wills.

In the presence of the common enemy, with whom there is no longer any question of parleying, or of coming to an agreement, and because of the work we are carrying out, such an under-

standing is necessary amongst all the revolutionaries. That at least, dear comrades, is the point of view of one amongst you who for a long time belonged to the most critical fault-finding, the most doctrinaire critical and intransigent section of the French anarchists—to that of *Libertaire* and of *L'Anarchie*. If these ideas could prevail amongst you, they would strengthen enormously your power and ours.

Our two principal enemies are hunger and ignorance. If they no longer existed the revolutionary glory would be complete, the decisive step would have been taken towards the city of the future. But with us hunger is organised, desired by the *Entente*. Countless victims are made by the blockade on the one hand and on the other raids by reactionary bands supported by the Allied military missions. General Janin is still operating [for the French Government] with the swashbuckler, Koltchak. These things, reacting upon ignorance, cause abuses and excesses to be committed, many suffer without understanding and tire of the struggle. The unspeakable war, which capitalism wages against us contrary to all published declarations, and which at present includes an open attack on Petrograd is thus a cause of countless evils.

Moreover, the attack is absolutely useless. We should cry to our enemies that they are stupid, for what has been done in Russia will remain such an example that neither bayonets nor epidemics can at present kill the communist idea, even under present conditions. In prolonging the fight against us by ineffective methods the capitalists' Governments do evil for the sake of evil. They are both criminal and idiotic.

Cry it out aloud, comrades. Let the truth of what we are doing be known. Hide nothing that we do; hide nothing of our suffering. Do not be afraid to recognise our mistakes. We no longer fear either discouragement or defeat. The Russian life has entered the epoch of a standard; we must now continue to improve and perfect the work solidly begun. Immense progress has been made, especially in pedagogical methods, and higher educational facilities for the people, in the fine arts, ethics, and the creation of a new morality founded upon the spirit of mutual help. Russia is covered with a network of communist groups devoting themselves wholeheartedly to these tasks.

You can help us in many ways, and we Russians will, on our side, even attempt the impossible to help you.

French comrades coming to Russia will find a warm welcome: working amongst us they will learn much that will enable them to be infinitely useful on their return to France.

Good wishes from

VICTOR SERGE LE RITIF.

Smolny, Ch. 32, Petrograd.

REMINISCENCES OF LENIN.

By SIEGFRIED BLOCH.

When the Swiss Central Office for Social Literature at Zurich was still in possession of its modest quarters at 31, Seilergraben—since April 1st of this year its library has removed to 35, Predigerplatz—it was frequently visited by men who had played an important part in the International Socialist movement. Amongst them was Lenin.

Comrade Lenin, the leader of the left wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, a man whose name is to-day on everyone's lips, spent a considerable time in Switzerland. He was one of the most distinguished and most cultured of the exiles. His manner of life was reserved. He forced himself on no

one. His life belonged to the Party and to it he devoted his whole strength. If he tackled any Socialist problem, he always tried to see all sides of the question before giving his opinion.

Lenin does not like compromises. For Labour he demands the whole and nothing less than the whole. He hates the bourgeoisie as much as he loves his Socialist ideal. He had a special aversion for the so-called "Social-Patriots" who proclaimed the "union sacrée" as soon as war broke out. According to Lenin, the working class must not only organise and move more and more to the "left"; it must also oppose its organised

armed power to the military and police rule of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois régime of exploitation, which, for the sake of its profits and interests, never shrinks from shedding the blood of the workers, is bound remorselessly and resolutely to work against the growing power of the proletariat. If the proletariat will but free itself from its toils, instead of ever putting off till to-morrow what it could do to-day, continuous action on a large scale cannot be avoided. Clearly understood, mass-action, conscious of its aim, strengthens the proletarians' power of will and action, and weakens the capitalist order.

In personal intercourse Lenin is an extraordinarily lovable man. He writes a great deal and speaks several languages. His special province is the literature of the International, which few know so well as he. The Swiss Party of that period, whose doings he followed very closely, made a painful impression on Lenin, because the Congress did not seem consciously to have moved far towards the left. Lenin has a horror of opportunist measures. They hinder, delay, and obscure the concerted and conscious rise of the Proletariat. We must form radical left wings in our organisations and associations, in order to counteract their bureaucratic character. One should read, for example, Lenin's recently published pamphlet "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," in order to form an idea of how strongly he holds to his opinion that we should go straight ahead without compromise.

Lenin used to spend four hours every day in the Central Office, two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon. He zealously studied internationalist literature, and also took a great interest in Swiss Socialist works. He always studied with the idea of taking up a definite position on scientific and political questions.

Lenin lived at Zurich under the name of Vladimir Ulianov. He lodged in the second storey of No. 14, Spiegelgasse, an ancient old-fashioned house. Once when he had to deliver a lecture, he gave me the manuscript to read through. It was written in excellent German and dealt with the historical development of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and its lessons.

I had the impression at that time that his extreme left point of view was shared by scarcely anyone, at least so far as other exiles at Zurich were concerned. Ryassanoff and Bronski, for example, in comparison with Lenin, appeared but very conservative Marxists. Lenin laughed all "illusionists" out of court. According to him it was ridiculous to suppose that the emancipation of the working class could come about without revolution. The bourgeoisie would not surrender of its own accord. He said it was contrary to all historical experience to believe that an old-established class would renounce its privileges unless compelled to do so. To communicate this knowledge to the proletariat was one of the chief tasks of the Socialist party which was to take the lead in the Revolution.

With few exceptions the Swiss Socialist leaders did not concern themselves much with Lenin: he did not stand near enough to them, was not well enough known. Nearly all the leaders of the Swiss movement failed to recognise the high standing of the man who was living amidst them at Zurich, concerned as they were with the trials and troubles of their own country.

Generally speaking most working class organisations were ignorant of Lenin's existence. They could have learnt much from him without being forced thereby to share his point of view on all questions.

KEEPING THE TRUTH from the WORKERS.

PERSECUTION IN PEMBROKE DOCK.

"Baiting the Bolsheviks."
"Dockyard Man and His Pamphlets."
"Advice to Soldiers."

This is how the *Pembroke County Guardian* heads its report of the case of William Griffiths, who on August 28th was imprisoned for 6 months and fined two sums of £12 10s. for "spreading disaffection," and for "attempting an act calculated to cause disaffection amongst His Majesty's Forces" under Section 27 of D.O.R.A. Griffiths, a dock worker aged 32, was alleged to have given a leaflet advising the workers to "get ready for the revolution" to a soldier in the train between Pembroke Dock and Tenby on August 4th.

The leaflet given to the soldier was eventually handed to the adjutant, and the military authorities proceeded to play the part of sleuth hounds in order to track down and punish the workers who had dared, by that leaflet, to advocate the overthrow of the capitalist system. On August 16th the soldier was ordered to go to Tenby to look for the man who gave him the leaflet. At 8 p.m. he found Griffiths on the South Parade and pointed him out to the police, who arrested him.

We should like to know more of this business; did the soldier give the leaflet voluntarily to the adjutant? Was he a willing tool in the hands of the authorities? We do not think it likely. It seems more probable that the leaflet was found upon him and that he was told he must either produce the man who gave it to him, or suffer some extreme punishment. Will someone inform us of the facts?

Frank Garside, lance-corporal, 2nd King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, the soldier in question, declared that Griffiths had advised the soldiers to demobilise themselves, and had said:—

"Look at the married men in the Army, and their wives and children at home can't get food stuffs."

General Meyrick, the chairman of the bench of magistrates, was highly shocked at that; what, soldiers demobilise themselves! It was altogether too much for his military dignity to bear! Probably it was at that point that the general made up his mind the defendant should not only go to prison, but should also be made to pay!

Harold Scofield, private, K.O.Y.L.I., also gave evidence. He said that Griffiths had asked him whether he would fight against his fellow workers, and that he had replied: "I am in the Army and take Army orders."

Griffiths admitted giving out the leaflets and said he was a Socialist. He denied having incited the soldiers to demobilise.

The "Reconstruction Council," working with Government money, we believe, is giving out anti-Socialist, anti-Russian Bolshevik leaflets in far greater numbers than the Socialists and supporters of the Russian Bolsheviks can even compete with. And yet savage sentences of this kind are meted out to those who endeavour to spread the few leaflets telling the actual truth which the Communists are able to publish with the small funds they can collect.

At Nottingham on August 27th a nineteen-year-old booking clerk was fined £5 for giving one copy of a leaflet to a workman.

A Workers' Defence Committee should be formed to protect the comrades who now are daily being victimised for propaganda work.

PERSECUTING THE I.W.W.

On August 19th I.W.W. leaflets were seized by the police from the I.W.W. rooms in Great Garden-street. The Press Association says:—

"As to the reason why no proceedings were taken against members of the Industrial Workers of the World who were found in possession of seditious and inflammatory leaflets when the premises were raided by the police. It appears that in the existing state of the law the possession of literature of this kind is not an offence; it is only when a person distributes it that he can be prosecuted. This, of course, very much curtails the power of the police. It is, moreover, not an offence to give vent to revolutionary sentiments in public speeches, provided there is no incitement to violent action."

"If the English law is unduly lenient in this respect," the Press Association goes on, "no such charge can be brought against the law of the United States."

AMERICAN PERSECUTION.

In America the I.W.W. is much stronger than in this country, and its strength is constantly growing. It publishes papers in several languages: in English, *The One Big Union Monthly*, *The New Solidarity* in Chicago, *The Rebel Worker* in New York, and *The Industrial Unionist* in Seattle; in Russian, *Golos Truzenka*, in Chicago; in Hungarian, *A Feszabadulas*, in Chicago; in Spanish, *La Nueva Solidaridad*, in Chicago; in Italian, *The Nuovo Proletario*, in Chicago; in Swedish, *Ny Världen*, in Chicago; in Bulgarian, *Provdna*, in Chicago; in Lithuanian, *Proletaras*, in Paterson, New Jersey; and two Jewish papers, *Klassen Kampf* in New York and *Der Industrial Arbeiter* in Chicago.

The I.W.W. in America grows under heavy persecution. Ninety of its members now in prison

might be out on bail if their comrades could collect enough money to bail them out, but this it has only been possible to do for about a dozen of them.

In May, 31 members of the I.W.W. were tried under the "criminal anarchy law" for their part in the Seattle strike during the winter. James Bruce, the first of the accused to be tried, was found not guilty by the jury. The others were kept in prison for months, though it was said that the cases would be dropped.

In San Francisco I.W.W. members were arrested and kept for months in gaol, though it was obvious that no law could be stretched to punish them.

At Wichita, Kansas, 52 I.W.W. members were kept in jail for a year awaiting trial. The Federal Court then quashed the indictments against them, whereupon they were immediately re-indicted by a special grand jury on the charge of conspiring against the Government. The case is to come on in September; the defendants have now been in prison without trial for 20 months; one of them has died owing to the prison treatment, and several are ruined for life. They were a group of poor workers in the oil fields of the Standard Oil Company.

During the summer there has been an effort to entangle the I.W.W. in faked bomb plots; in one case 30 bombs were sent through the post; in another case bombs were planted in 8 different cities. The I.W.W. is confident that a searching inquiry into the origin of these plots would show tracks leading to one of the "patriotic" leagues, or the "Knights of Columbus." The *One Big Union Monthly* says: "We could not build industrial unions by throwing bombs."

ROSSENDALE WORKERS' VOTE AGAINST PEACE CELEBRATIONS.

STRIKING FIGURES.

One local firm in the Rossendale Valley decided to pay its employees during a week's summer holiday. The district boot, shoe and slipper Employers' Association refused to follow this example; but offered to pay half a day's wages on the recent Peace Saturday half-holiday. The Operatives' Union Executive replied that, as far as it was concerned, the employers could keep the half-day's wage, as it objected to Peace celebrations held with a score of wars still raging, with British soldiers being used to crush Democracy and establish Militarism in Russia and with thousands of demobilised soldiers unemployed or robbed of their pensions. A ballot vote of the Operatives' Union was taken to decide whether the employers' offer should be rejected. The result was: 3,211 for refusing the proffered half-day's pay and 175 against. Such a vote undoubtedly shows a very determined state of opinion.

THE "DAILY SKETCH" MAKES A MISTAKE (?)

The *Daily Sketch* published some pictures of Galician women and children whom it alleged to be sufferers under the rule of Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet. But Galicia was never in Hungary before the war—it was in Austria, and now it has been given to the Poles. Can it be that the *Daily Sketch* office boy has lost the map? It must be pointed out that not only is Galicia not in Hungary but in Austria, but that the Allies forced the Hungarians to retire from the part of Hungary which adjoins Galicia.

The photographs published by the *Daily Sketch*, if they are photographs of Galicians, are inhabitants of Austrian territory who have certainly suffered untold hardships, but these hardships have been caused by the capitalist war, the Allied blockade, the aquabbles caused by the Paris Peace Conference, and the struggle between the workers and the employing capitalists which is being fiercely waged all over Europe.

If the *Daily Sketch* has made a mistake and the photographs were not taken in Galicia, but in Hungary, then undoubtedly the people are sufferers from the Allied blockade of Hungary.

It is unlikely that the photographs were taken in Hungary, because as Hungary is a food producing country the shortage of food has not been extreme there.

Buda Pest suffered a shortage owing to the transport being occupied by war material and war conditions generally; but, owing to the fact that food was distributed equally there was no actual starvation in Buda Pest under the Soviets, though there was actual starvation under the capitalist régime in Vienna, where prices were so high that the poor could only buy food by saving several days' ration tickets and then selling them to the well-to-do, in order to get the money to buy the food, which subsequent ration tickets would entitle them to purchase.

But what caused the Soviets to be established in Hungary? The Allied Armistice terms, which were revised again and again, further new territory being demanded with each revision, till to comply with them meant the lopping away of two-thirds of Hungary, including the best agricultural land, all the iron and other metals, the salt, the greater part of the coal, and almost all the woodlands.

Count Karolyi, the President of the newly-created Hungarian capitalist Republic, then

resigned and called on the people to set up the Soviets. His reasons for the step have been explained in official proclamations, in speeches, and in interviews. This is how he put the position to the American journalist, Hiram K. Moderwell:—

"Bolshevism was bound to come in Hungary, because we had an economic situation that made it inevitable. Capitalist production had broken down. Capitalism in Hungary was dead, economically and morally. Only a Socialistic type of organisation would assure continued production and avert ruin. The Entente made Bolshevism inevitable in Hungary by creating an impossible economic condition. Through the military occupation of the most and the best of Hungary's territory, we were cut off from our raw materials. The factories were obliged to shut down, our money declined in value, the unemployed filled the streets. Then came the new Allied demands, which would have taken away nearly all our remaining land, and left Buda Pest, with its two million inhabitants, to be supported—on nothing. Under such circumstances an uprising of the people was bound to come. Was I to order my soldiers to shoot down their fathers and their sisters? Perhaps they wouldn't have done it?"

Faced with an impossible situation, Karolyi washed his hands of the difficulties, saying:—

"I abdicate and transfer the power to the proletariat of the Hungarian peoples."

Bela Kun was in prison then for preaching Communism. The old Social Democratic Party, to which Karolyi had offered the Government of Hungary, was afraid of the task; its Executive, therefore, went to Bela Kun in prison and asked him to come out and help them to save the country.

He did, and the story of what the Soviet Government did for Hungary is a wonderful story. Bela Kun should be regarded, not as a criminal, but as a hero.

Miss Alice Riggs Hunt, who went to Hungary as an investigator, has described what she saw very graphically in a pamphlet entitled "Facts About Communist Hungary," which has just been published at 4d. by the Workers' Socialist Federation (Communist Party), at 400, Old Ford-road, London, E.3.

STRATFORD BENCH DISGRACES NATION.

German prisoners were sent to do heavy farm work from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. at Gaysham Hall Farm, Barking-side. They were only given for the day 8 oz. of bread and a little tea, and when farmer Brown, on whose farm they were working, complained that they did not work hard enough, they said they were hungry. He sold them a half quarter loaf each, and for that has been fined £20. Farmer Torrance, of Chigwell, also had German prisoners working for him. They were hungry, and he gave them a little bread, margarine and jam at various times. He was fined £10. Evidently the good Samaritan would have been regarded as a criminal in these peace-loving days.

A young woman of Tomswood Hill was fined £5 for sending friendly letters to one of the German prisoners. She cried, and said she was sorry.

All this happened at Stratford Police Court; such prosecutions are a national disgrace.

Meanwhile the Press reports that British manufacturers are sending their travellers to Germany to arrange for selling their goods there. The German Government has at present forbidden the entry of British goods into Germany, but the goods are being delivered in Cologne and the Germans are smuggling them to Berlin (see the *Times*, Saturday, August 30th). The British War Trade Department intends issuing licenses for the export of wool to Germany.

The *Times* indignantly reports that the train strike at Cairo is continuing and that even newsboys, gardeners and shoeblacks are forming unions there.

IF THESE ARE SOCIALISTS!

"Several German newspapers announce that an agreement has been arrived at between the Right Socialists and Catholic Centre regarding repressive measures to be taken against miners on strike. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* writes that the news is somewhat premature. It is nevertheless true that measures are being prepared which will tend to limit the strike movement, and that they will be brought before the National Assembly."—*Avanti!* August 21st.

The same thing will happen here; be prepared!

EGYPT PROTESTS.

Saad Zagoul Pasha, Vice-President of the Egyptian Assembly and Chancellor of the Egyptian University, was in America with an Egyptian deputation, and was recently interviewed by the *United News*, and complained that President Wilson had, in defiance of his fourteen points, surrendered Egypt's 15,000,000 people to the domination of Britain. He said that the proportion of Egyptian illiteracy has grown during the 30 years of British rule, and that to-day only 7 per cent. of the people can read and write. He says that the British authorities refuse to allow the Egyptians to build a single factory, and ship the entire cotton output and surplus food direct to Britain.

THE BABIES' DEATH KNELL.

MILK WILL COST 1/- OR 1/3 A QUART.

A few days ago the Food Controller, Mr. Mc.Curdy, M.P. (who, by the way, first came into prominence by writing anti-Bolshevik pamphlets) announced that the price of milk might be raised to 1/- a quart.

It now appears that the farmers and dealers want the price to be made higher still. Mr. Hyndman, a member of the Consumers' Council, and another strong anti-Bolshevik, says the price will rise to 1/3 a quart. Meanwhile the London price has risen from 8d. to 9d. per quart. This means death to countless babies. It is true that masses of poor people's children never see milk in these glorious days of victory and that menaced by rickets and other forms of malnutrition, they are brought up on condensed milk, usually "skimmed," but the increase in the price of liquid milk will enable the manufacturers to put up the price of condensed milk also. The condensed milk manufacturers can not only increase the price of tinned milk, they can also reduce its quality. A "Wiltshire Farmer," writing to the *Times*, a little jealous, no doubt, of condensed milk competition, complains that this is the only civilised country where there is no definite legal standard for condensed milk. He supposes the regulation that milk must contain at least three per cent. of fat would apply also to condensed milk, but he points out that since condensed milk is to be diluted the equivalent percentage to the three per cent. for fresh milk, should be at least nine per cent. for milk that is condensed. Mr. Mc.Curdy, whilst admitting that he means to raise the price of milk, sanctimoniously remarks:—

"Our baby crop for the years 1914 to 1919 is in danger. We must save it."

He adds that up to five years of age every child should have a quart of milk a day. Everyone knows that working-class children never get it. According to the *Times*, the Ministry of Health considers that the "local authorities have ample powers to cope with any physical hardship which may result to mothers and babies." The local authorities have power, as a matter of fact, to supply milk at or under cost price to children and expectant or nursing mothers, but only in "necessitous cases." We know what that means! Working-class mothers have had experience of it! "Free Milk: Why do you want it? Are you destitute?"

"My husband's down with pneumonia, and my eldest little girl, and I can't go out and leave them, and the baby's only five months' old, and I have two others under school age and three of them at school."

"Have you anyone working?"

"Yes, my daughter: she works at the dress-making and earns 15s. a week."

"If you've anyone working you oughtn't to be coming here for charity. You'll manage somehow!"

A pre-war case; but the wonderful war to end war has not made the leopard change his spots. Perhaps the daughter is earning 25s. or 30s. a week to-day; but the Prince of Wales's Fund fixed £1 a week as the maximum relief to be given to a family, and that was not so very long ago. Prices have risen, and the standard of relief to the "necessitous" has certainly done no more than keep pace with prices.

The Social Revolution will abolish necessitous cases by paying equal wages to everyone as a step to complete Communism. In Soviet Russia milk is free to all the children!

AN EAST END ATROCITY.

The precarious state of the workers under Capitalism is cruelly exemplified by the determined attempt of the landlords to evict at a week's notice 185 people, workers and small shopkeepers, in Brick Lane, Old Montague Street, and Finch Street, Bethnal Green, East London, to make way for a picture palace. Throughout East London there is an appalling scarcity of house-room, and it is certain that the evicted people will be forced to leave the neighbourhood altogether. The workers will probably lose their employment in consequence, a serious matter for them in these days of growing unemployment. The shopkeepers who have been building up their businesses for many years would have been heavily compensated had they been rich and influential, and had a public body acquired the premises to use for the common good. As it is, after a week's notice, in which it would be impossible for any one to make arrangements to transfer a business, their roof is torn off, and the demolition of the premises is begun.

And this is not Bolshevism: this not an unavoidable hardship arising out of swiftly-moving changes in the social organism during the time of Revolution: no, it is one of the everyday happenings of the Capitalist régime. The London County Council and the Government, if necessary, with an Order in Council under D.O.R.A., could step in if they would. But only poor working people are being turned out, and, therefore, unless they should happen to be very noisy—nothing will be done for them!

Is it not time to abolish Capitalist rule and to put in its place Socialism and the Workers' Soviets?

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 5th.

Tower Hill (12 noon), Melvina Walker.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 6th.

Great Push for Socialism and a People's Peace in the S.E. District. Meetings: Lewisham Market Place, 3 p.m.; Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7 p.m. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, Ph. Edmunds.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 7th.

Osborn St., Whitechapel—11.45 a.m., David Ramsay.

Piggott St., Poplar—11.45 a.m., Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., Jack Tanner; Chair: Melvina Walker.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 12th.

Outside Siemen's Works, Woolwich—12 (noon), Melvina Walker and others.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 13th.

Great Push in Waterloo Road.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPT. 8th.

20, Railway St., 7.30 p.m.—W.S.F. Business meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 12th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7-10 p.m., Dancing.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—8 p.m., General Members' Meeting (London Section).

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 7th.

Victoria Park, 12 (noon), W. Ponder & others.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 9th.

Queen's Road, corner of Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m., Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 11th.

400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30, Business meeting.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 9th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, Wm. Morris Hall, Somers Rd.—3 p.m., Ph. Edmunds: What Socialism Means to the Workers.

YOUR FOOD WILL COST YOU MORE. THERE WILL BE LESS FOOD TO BUY.

The only way to prevent hardship is to share what food there is equally and to socialise the food supply. Do not go for the small shopkeeper only; go for the landlords, the growers, the shippers, and the big wholesale dealers. Make the land and the industries common property; pay everyone who works on the land or in the industries an equal wage, and sell the products at cost price: that will prepare the way for Communism. Parliament will never do it. Set up the Workers' Soviets and abolish the landlords and capitalists.

BREAD WILL COST MORE.

Some Lancashire bakers have already been allowed by the Food Controller to raise the 2lb. loaf to 5d. and the quarter loaf to 10d.

The National Association of Master Bakers refused to carry out the Government award concerning the men's hours and wages unless the Government raises the price of bread.

The price of bread is accordingly to be raised a halfpenny per 4lb. loaf.

Mr. H. M. Hyndman's remedy is look after the rats; our remedy is communism.

AMERICA SMUGGLES AID TO KOLTCHAK AND DENIKIN.

The *New York Call* has learnt from members of the U.S.A. Congress that large stores of ammunition prepared in the United States for the war are now to be sent to Koltchak and Denikin. These include a quarter of a million Russian Remington Rifles, tens of millions of rounds of ammunition, machine guns, and so on. The Russian steamship, *Vladimir*, controlled by the Allies on Denikin's behalf, was to set off for Black Sea ports ostensibly carrying only machinery and farm implements, but it was planned to include secretly in her cargo 28,000 rifles and 8,000,000 rounds of ammunition.

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